2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamalté*) has three legs and is circular in form; it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*), women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*zitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says, "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still preserved."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say, "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc, and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another, those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another, here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1908, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:150.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part. [462] [857]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens. [592] [251] [804] [261] [231]

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 184 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 796 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the [778] [782]

[P 201-B]

342 lages of the lowlands where the houses have
[354] small windows, which improve ventilation
342 and illumination slightly. In places like
184 Chanal, where there is abundant lumber,
the sides of the houses are built with wood-
en boards set vertically. The largest and
best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the re-
[574] ception of visitors. In Amatenango del
Valle the front of the house is open and
[323] used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work
[251] is also performed here. In one room of the
house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn.
[343] Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

343 Among the auxiliary structures outside is
515 the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths.
Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough
to attend the needs of several neighboring
families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m.
high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones
and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow
forms a hearth for heating stones. Water
thrown on these red-hot stones produces the
necessary steam. On the floor are boards on
which people lie while taking the bath.
[184] Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is
[759] not only for cleanliness but also for the cure
[846] of certain diseases and to strengthen women
after childbirth. Sweat baths are more com-
monly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra
Caliente.

417 The other structures near the hut are the
chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In
the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the
comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a
bench or strong table to hold the metate
(*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-
malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40
cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20
cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks
415 (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes
earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

[P. 209-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big metate") was made of an igneous stone called *hayáltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding 354 on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only • 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the house fireplace racks, *baxtet*, were placed at the level of the eaves 354 across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.

352
412

FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three- [287] legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or tapa, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manál tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ŏcom*, with plain

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tsets*, is commonly offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *awaliko* (see fig. 299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes, *qai'*, about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsux*. Two nets hung from the rack. There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukulmotc*. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pětět*,

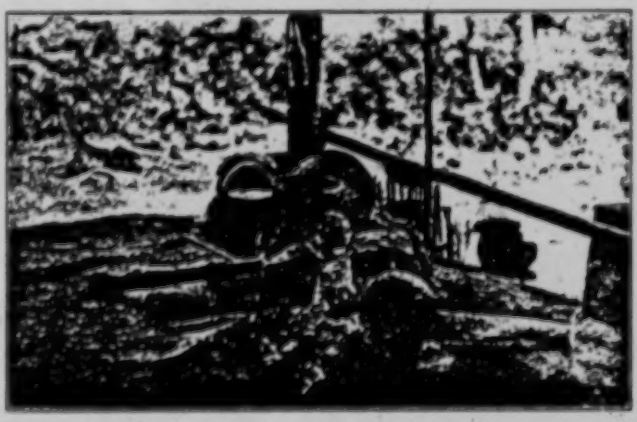

FIG. 661—Bachajón Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hanging in leaves, and the loom itself, *holěl*. A sling, made of a forked stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, *finmutc*, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, beeswax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil country, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tcan*, for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* ("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion. 224

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita, tcul-tĕc-wil can*, the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark. [824]

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately to the house, is dried on a rack, *tcar*. 251 •

The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak*, is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *tcokHar*, is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual. 482

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind. 498 [978]

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a 487 581 [977]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

243 vest. Harvesting is done by all the members of the household, sometimes
[592] with the assistance of exchange or hired labor. Women help by going to
464 the fields and degraining the cobs with few kernels of corn so that there
[462] will not be an unnecessary burden to carry to the houses.

243 A small fiesta for the corn is made following the harvest. The purpose
796 of the fiesta is to reciprocate the spiritual owner of the corn by giving him
782 a "gift." Two candles are lit and set on top of the piles of corncobs. Two other candles are placed near the heaps of corn grains gathered by the

243 192 Table 7. Stages of Corn Growth and Agricultural Activities

Stages of growth	*Activity*	*Time (after planting)*
Šlihk sčital (begins to grow)	First hoeing	8 days
Čištal lik ?išim (well-grown; about 4 feet)	Second hoeing	1 month
Čištal stekan sni? (begins to form husk)		2 months
B'al tzuto (begins to bud)		
Lok'iš tzutohal (flower comes out)		3 months
Yihiš sk'ab'enal (begins to mature)		4 months
Lok'iš yihkatz (cobs fill out)		
Sčam hol (its head dies)	Pick cobs to eat fresh	5 months
Yihištal sk'anubiš (now more yellow)	Double over stalks	6 months
Yihubiš (more yellow)		
Tahkiniš (dry)		
Sk'ahik lok'el (harvest time)	Pick dried corn	7 months

243 women. The candles cause the spirit of the corn to rise and give its "gift to
796 the world" in the following harvest. Failure to make a fiesta would mean
782 an end to all corn harvests.

243 Corn is brought to the house and stored in the rafters, since there are no
25 corn cribs or separate storage facilities of any kind in the village. Most of
136 the houses are infested with rats as a consequence. When the harvest is brought in, there is an attempt to rid the rafters of these "thieves." The
[411] men and boys armed with slingshots stand posted in the yard as the children rustle around in the rafters chasing the rats out. Although they are remarkably good shots since they use this tool from early childhood, the houses are never completely free of rats, and the inhabitants learn to put up with them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

by the company truck to replenish supplies they bring with them. Most of the workers are young men in their twenties and thirties. They return Saturday evening in a truck supplied by the company and go back to work on Monday morning. Weekly wage payments have upset the usual controls over budget management. Money earned from crops is handled by women. The sawmill workers have resisted passing over their paychecks to their wives or mothers, and several court cases have been precipitated as a result (Appendix 2b).

All of the work in which men are engaged outside of the community is voluntarily undertaken for cash compensation. Formerly, forced labor of two kinds was frequently demanded of the Indians: communal labor in the neighboring ladino town when Tzo'ontahal was an *agente municipal* of that town, and work in neighboring fincas for wages of 50 cents a day. Forced communal work came to an end when the town became an independent municipio in 1931, and the labor roundups at substandard wages were ended when Indians became conscious of their rights guaranteed in the *Ley Federal del Trabajo* in the late 30s. Copies of the *Colección Juridica Ley Federal del Trabajo* are sold in the departmental marketplace along with the *Codigo Agraria*. Awareness of their rights as workers is concomitant with increasing entry into wage labor employment outside of the local community. As yet, Indians do not have any organized labor interest groups to champion their rights. The Commissioner of Indian affairs in the departmental capital is an intermediary in individual cases that arise. But wage levels and conditions of work are set in a free market in which the Indian's only control is to refuse to work.

The few special occupations in the town, such as butchering, caponizing, weaving bags, carpentry, and midwifery, have never developed into full-time professions.[2] The failure of the development of specialization is related to the tradition of ritual offerings of gifts of liquor and consumables and to the lack of a marketplace in the town.

Most of the livestock raised in the town is sold to butchers of the neighboring town because of lack of storage or of market facilities for the meat. Pigs and bulls are slaughtered in town only on the occasion of a celebra-

2. Curing is treated in a separate chapter since it is an exceptional case of specialization related to social control.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

184 562 467 592 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he 592 593 562 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the [251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is